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World Watches as Ghana Sets Her Course

Long before the slave trade and the imperialistic rivalries in Africa began, Kwame Nkrumah told an African audience in 1953, the civilizations of the Ghana Empire were in existence. At that time, in the ancient city of Timbuktu, Nkrumah said, Africans versed in science, arts and learning were having their works translated into Greek and Hebrew and were, at the same time, exchanging teachers with the University of Cordova in Spain.

"These were the brains!" he declared proudly, "And today they tell us that we cannot do it. We have been made to believe that we can't do it. But have you forgotten? You have emotions like anybody else; you have aspirations

like anybody else—you have visions. So don't let people come and bamboozle us that the African is incapable of governing himself!"

Kwame Nkrumah had made his point. This month in Accra he set about proving it.

Amid mighty roars of "Freedom! Freedom!" rising from a throng of 50,000 assembled at Accra's polo grounds on March 6 shortly after midnight, Prime Minister Nkrumah proclaimed the birth of Ghana and declared the new nation must be reckoned with not only in West Africa but throughout the world.

As fireworks exploded in the sky and talking drums carried along the word of independence, Nkrumah

moved swiftly to establish Ghana's place in the family of nations.

Within hours, he dispatched a cablegram to the United Nations Security Council formally requesting UN admission.

Simultaneously, diplomatic contacts were informally established through key foreign visitors in Accra, including the Duchess of Kent representing the Queen, Vice-President Nixon, the UN's Ralph Bunche, Ivan Benedictov of Russia, and representatives from Red China, France, South Africa and other countries in Europe, Africa and elsewhere in the world.

As a sovereign power, Ghana at once was in a position to join the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington, and approval of her earlier application for membership was anxiously awaited. Bank membership would establish Ghana's eligibility for loan consideration on the Volta River Project—Nkrumah's big hope for securing his country's economic stability.

The Volta project began to shape up as one of the key puzzles to be solved in Ghana's efforts to work out her immediate destiny. Other areas of uncertainty, in the eyes of outsiders, were the specifics of her foreign policy and her ability to keep the peace within her borders. On the last

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—1907 Photo Courtesy Information Services Department, Accra
GOLD COAST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL 50 YEARS AGO
... in center, Sir John Rodger, Governor

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Nixon Trip Stresses U.S. Friendship for Africa; Free Ghana Seen as Test of Soviet Intentions

By Zander Hollander

Vice President Richard M. Nixon returned from Africa last week after a three-week aerial safari that paid tribute to emergent independent nations throughout the upper expanse of the continent and gave new and emphatic evidence of America's interest in a decisive area of the world.

Travelling 17,815 miles by Military Air Transport Service DC-7, the Vice President moved to fortify bonds of friendship in a continent of shifting alliances and deep-rooted conflict, where friendship can count a good deal.

Africa will have a tremendous effect on the future of the world, Mr. Nixon said on his departure. In despatching him, the United States had sent its highest-ranking available ambassador, and the impact in Africa was striking.

He visited the capitals of seven independent African nations and made a rest stop at Uganda. He celebrated the advent of independence in Ghana and its first anniversary in two other countries—Morocco and Tunisia. The tenure of independence was little older in two stopping points, Libya and the Sudan, and no less zealously guarded in Liberia and Ethiopia.

In Ghana, Mr. Nixon's presence underscored the United States' intention that the new state be afforded steady growth as a free and democratic nation, and a recognition that the precedent it set would be important throughout Africa.

To Ghana, and to other parts of Africa, the Nixon visit signaled an American appreciation of orderly progress toward political independence, and held a promise of American sympathy once this independence was achieved.

The dramatic Nixon gesture was staged against a backdrop of implied threat from other quarters of the

globe. Africa, a "continent of 200 million people with tremendous natural resources," Mr. Nixon remarked at Washington's National Airport, "can be decisive in the conflict between slavery and freedom going on in the world today."

Juxtaposition of these two forces was pointed up at the festivities in Ghana. At a formal banquet in Accra, Mr. Nixon found himself seated beside Ivan Benediktov, Soviet State Farms minister and head of the Russian delegation to the Independence ceremonies.

Mr. Nixon later told reporters they talked about agriculture. But surely the Vice-President had other worries,

have unsettling effects over a wide area.

The Soviets probably view Ghana as a desirable beachhead in "Africa South," much as they appear to regard Cairo as a springboard for penetration of the Middle East.

There is no implication that Ghana could be induced to willingly accept such a role, and her Prime Minister was quoted by Vice-President Nixon as assuring him that Ghana would "never be neutral" in the East-West struggle.

However, Western diplomats look now for an indication of how far Russia is really prepared to go—in funds, attempts at subversion, propaganda, educational grants and diplomacy—in hopes of weaning Africa from the West.

In Accra, the Soviet visit was marked by efforts to exchange diplomatic missions and an invitation to the Ghana Legislative Assembly Speaker, Sir Emmanuel Quist, to send a parliamentary delegation to Moscow. Russia's Benediktov was publicly mum on economic matters, mentioning only gifts of an airplane and automobile for Prime Minister Nkrumah.

Mr. Nixon presented a 10,000 volume technical library, an Eisenhower scholarship to allow a Ghanaian to study in America and a fine Steuben glass vase, the four freedoms etched in its crystal.

Elsewhere in Africa, developments of the Nixon goodwill tour were as follows:

As Liberia's rigid protocol demanded, Mr. Nixon greeted President William V. S. Tubman in top hat and cutaway tailcoat despite steamy skies. Perspiring but still smiling after a 55-mile drive from Roberts Field to Monrovia, the Vice President was cheered by 50,000 Liberians.

Later, in a Uganda press conference, Mr. Nixon said, "American prestige is at stake" in Liberia and that U. S. aid to the republic should be stepped up. "We must do a more effective job and in my opinion, we will," he predicted.



—Wide World Photo

MR. NIXON IN LIBERIA

for the man he confronted represented one of the major riddles posed by the birth of the new nation:

What is Soviet strategy in sub-Saharan Africa?

Independence for Ghana offers the first real test.

Existence of the tiny free nation presents Soviet Communism with a target below the Sahara. In most other places the Soviets are barred by the continent's European overseers. Overtures have been made in long-independent Liberia, but now Russia can turn her attention to a land where the contagious ferment of nationalism and anti-colonialism is expected to

Mr. Hollander is a newspaperman and recent Fulbright scholar in foreign affairs who has covered assignments in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and this country.

Reporting the Nixon remarks, N. Y. Timesman Thomas F. Brady wrote: "Mr. Nixon said that newly independent Ghana was well ahead of Liberia in the economic and educational fields and that this progress was a credit not only to the African leaders but to the British . . .

"Liberia is in a different situation because she has not had long-term assistance from a more wealthy nation, Mr. Nixon said. Despite the close historic ties that put United States prestige in question it was not until 1944 that the United States took a consistent interest in Liberia, he said.

But, according to the Times report, Mr. Nixon noted that the republic is now moving forward and the important progress of the last three years will continue.

In Addis Ababa the American bid for an Air Force Communications Center and a military and naval base at Massawa on the Red Sea found Emperor Haile Selassie receptive but cautious.

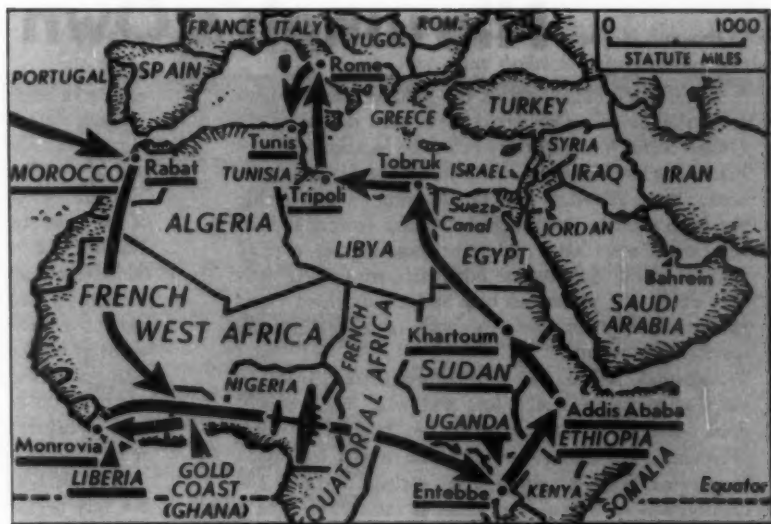
Explaining that Ethiopia needed more American aid—especially aircraft in view of recent Soviet warnings against allowing U. S. bases—the Emperor said: "Ethiopia desires to collaborate with the United States but only on an equal footing."

Bases and aid also ranked high in Rabat, starting point of the African trip. Mr. Nixon left a conference with Sultan Mohammed V expressing confidence that current negotiations over aid programs and continued Air Force use of U. S.-built bases in Morocco would end successfully.

However, he indicated that Morocco should look first to France as the economic partner she needs to help her raise living standards.

The Nixon arrival in Morocco was impressive. Acclaimed by 200,000 wildly cheering Moroccans, he drew more press coverage than had the country's Independence Day anniversary.

Mr. Nixon said Sultan Mohammed V was destined to "have great influence in this part of the world in the years ahead," a judgment some observers took to indicate United States sympathy with the Sultan's hope for a North African Federation—a possible counterforce to Cairo's "Pan-



—Wide World

THE NIXON ITINERARY

Nasserism."

The Nixon party was met with a correct but cool public reception in the Sudan, where Communist and pro-Egyptian politicians had been carrying on an anti-Nixon, anti-American, anti-Eisenhower Doctrine campaign for days. Government strictures against demonstrations held down the crowds at Khartoum's airport, and a group of demonstrators passed out "Nixon go home" leaflets. Among ambassadors there to greet the Vice President was the Soviet—reportedly the first Russian diplomat to appear on a Nixon receiving line—and he got a sober "Hello."

A 90-minute conference with government officials indicated they were waiting talks with White House envoy James Richards before deciding whether to support the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East.

But press reports from Khartoum indicate Sudanese officials did ask the Vice President for nine million dollars in U. S. economic aid—a government spokesman emphasizing earlier there could be no political strings attached.

The next day engine trouble developed, forcing a return to Khartoum and a change in plans to meet Libya's King Idris I in Tobruk as an earlier breakdown at Monrovia had cancelled out a visit to Dr. Albert Schweitzer in French Equatorial Africa. Skipping the hop to Lambarene also involved

declining a dinner invitation from Belgian administrators in Leopoldville.

The implications of American interest in Africa have not been lost on Cairo. Writing in the New York Times, Homer Bigart reported the Nixon itinerary—it included three nations whose relations with Egypt are currently strained: Ethiopia, the Sudan and Libya—was "vexing" President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

A Cairo newspaper cartoon depicted the Vice President as a "villainous munitions salesman," approaching Mother Ethiopia's grass hut and frightening her child. Egyptian emissaries preceded Mr. Nixon to Addis Ababa and were to go to Khartoum on his heels to neutralize the effects of the visit.

The Nixon impact on Africa is important to Cairo and Moscow; but the African impact on Mr. Nixon is a matter of some speculation in Washington. Since his journeys to Asia and Austria suggested new Administration approaches in dealing with "Neutrality" and the Hungarian refugee program, so—it is felt in Washington—African programs might be similarly influenced.

In pre-trip briefings, the Vice-President was understood to have asked perceptive questions and absorbed the answers fast. He was reportedly impressed with the views of Joseph

(See Nixon, Page 12)

Nkrumah's Own Story

Kwame Nkrumah was in the vanguard of students from the continent of Africa who have turned to the United States for a big share of their education. An estimated 2,000 of these students are in the United States today, some arriving with the blessing of scholarship aid from their respective governments, several appearing on the scene only under the most bizarre circumstances. Many, like Kwame Nkrumah, are finding their own financially precarious way by luck and hard work, as they equip themselves for roles of leadership and service back home.

Nkrumah, whose ties with America stem from 10 years of intimate association, and who has probably done as much as anyone to make "Democracy" and "Freedom" household words in the towns and bush country of West Africa, is a self-styled "Marxian Socialist" who feels that "capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation." What else is it? To Horace Mann Bond, his close associate at Lincoln University, Nkrumah is an "entirely new kind of world citizen."

The story of Kwame Nkrumah and his role in bringing independence to Ghana is told in "Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah," published this month.

The book is, in part, a blueprint for peaceful revolution in Africa, and, in the words of Dr. Bond, "a description of the mechanics by which the center of

gravity in human affairs is shifting."

Reviewing Nkrumah's autobiography in the Washington Post and Times Herald, Dr. Bond said one feels that here revealed is a "new type of world mind, neither 'Eastern', or 'Western', nor even 'African' in the sense of the usual stereotypes . . . This is not Cecil Rhodes, nor Winston Churchill, though the man is as energetic as the one, and as good a public speaker as the second.

"This is neither Marx nor Lenin or Chou en Lai; intellectual enough to have steeped himself in the writings of Plato, Marx, Hegel, and Schopenhauer, this man has washed dishes, been a bell-hop and a welder, and held, for ten years, a membership card in the Maritime Workers Union. Nor is this Nehru or Ghandi; he has utterly emancipated himself from his culture.

"This is Kwame Nkrumah, who says that 'My God is a very personal God and can only be reached direct,' who gives as his creed, that, 'I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist Socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two' . . .

Because of the insight which this autobiography provides on the actions and thoughts of one of the new leaders in a key area of the world, Africa Special Report is pleased to present a condensation of excerpts from Prime Minister Nkrumah's book, the permission of the publishers, Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, being gratefully acknowledged.

By KWAME NKUMAH

(Condensed from his Autobiography*)

To sleep under the stars in my native Africa was, in spite of the raiding mosquitoes, a far happier prospect than sleeping out in the cities of America. When I first visited Philadelphia with a fellow student neither of us had any money for lodgings and, as we had nowhere else to go, we walked back to the railway station and sat on one of the benches intending to pass the night there. We had not reckoned on the ubiquitous American police. At about midnight we were rudely shaken out of our doze and greeted by a firm but not unkind voice saying: "Move on, chums, you can't sleep here."

For wet nights thereafter I devised another plan. The idea came to me in New York one night after I had been ejected from my room and had nothing in my pocket except twenty-five cents. During the day the problem of shelter had not seemed so acute, but

when night came and I found that the streets had been taken over by stray cats and down-and-outs like myself, it was a very different picture altogether. Suddenly I got an idea. For a nickel I bought a subway ticket and boarded a train plying between Harlem and Brooklyn. With this ticket I travelled backwards and forwards on the train the whole night, getting what

sleep I could. It was, of course, a very disturbed night for every time the subway reached its destination I got out and changed coaches in case the guard became curious about me being in the same coach for so long.

Poverty and need drive one to surprising ends. For want of something better to do and because it provided me with an evening's free entertainment, I used to go round quite a lot to various Negro religious gatherings and revivalist meetings. The only one that I gave much attention to was a movement headed by Father Divine, and then only because of the privileges attached to membership. By being a follower of Father Divine I discovered that it was possible to obtain a good chicken meal for half a dollar, instead of the usual two or three dollars charged at other restaurants, and also a haircut at a certain barber's shop for only ten cents instead of a dollar. To an impoverished student this was quite enough to attract him to any sort of movement and as long as I could be fed and shorn at cut prices by merely raising my arm above my head and whispering "Peace," I fear I did not



PRIME MINISTER NKUMAH
". . . a new type of world mind."

*"Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah," Copyright 1957 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, 302 pp. \$5.

concern myself with the motives of Father Divine's group.

I well remember my first experience of active racialism below the Mason-Dixon line. I was travelling by bus on one of my lecture tours from Philadelphia to Washington and the bus stopped en route at Baltimore for the passengers to refresh themselves. I was parched from thirst and I entered the refreshment room at the terminal and asked the white American waiter if I could have a drink of water. He frowned and looked down his nose at me as if I was something unclean. "The place for you, my man, is the spittoon outside," he declared, as he dismissed me from his sight. I was so shocked that I could not move. I just stood and stared at him for I could not bring myself to believe that anyone could refuse a man a drink of water because his skin happened to be a different color. However, I said nothing but merely bowed my head and walked out in as dignified manner as I knew how.

My ten years in America had been happy and eventful, but at the same time they had been remarkably strenuous. Life would have been so much easier if I could have devoted all my time to study. As things were, however, I was always in need of money and had to work out ways and means of earning my livelihood.

When the first summer vacation came round at Lincoln I was at a loss to know what to do because it was a rule that no student could remain on the campus after term had ended. I went to New York and stayed with a Sierra Leonean friend in Harlem. He was in no better straits than I was and so we immediately set about planning how to get a job. We thought we had a brainwave and went to the fish and poultry market early each morning, bought fish at wholesale prices and spent the rest of the day trying to sell it on a street corner. This job was particularly uncomfortable for me as I seemed to have some kind of an allergy towards fish.

Until the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939, I managed to get summer employment at sea.

This kind of life was a new experience to me. I had no knowledge of the ways of sailors and I was sometimes



THE SEAL OF GHANA

pretty shocked at their topics of conversation and the pornographic literature that used to be handed round among them. They used to try to persuade me to go ashore in the various South American ports where we docked. Sometimes I would join them, just for the fun of it and because I didn't want to be thought of as something unusual, but I was always a little wary of such pastimes.

LEARNING THE TECHNIQUES

While at the University of Pennsylvania I helped to set up an African Studies Section there. It was there also that I began to organize the African Students' Association of America and Canada. This was actually the beginning of my political activities in the

United States.

I made time to acquaint myself with as many political organizations in the United States as I could. These included the Republicans, the Democrats, the Communists and the Trotskyites. It was in connection with the latter movement that I met one of its leading members, Mr. C. L. R. James, and through him I learned how an underground movement worked.

My aim was to learn the technique of organization. I knew that when I eventually returned to the Gold Coast I was going to be faced with this problem. I knew that, whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organization adopted. I concentrated on finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved. I read Hegel, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mazzini. The writings of these men did much to influence me in my revolutionary ideas and activities, and Karl Marx and Lenin particularly impressed me as I felt sure that their philosophy was capable of solving these problems. But I think that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did more than any other to

Thumbnail Chronology

Kwame Nkrumah was born in 1909, the son of a goldsmith, in the village of Nkroful in the southwestern corner of the Gold Coast. His search for education took him from a village school at Half Assini to the government teachers college at Achimota near Accra, and in 1935 to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He remained in America 10 years, returning to London in 1945 for study at the London School of Economics.

In 1947, having been offered a position as General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention party, Nkrumah returned to the Gold Coast. There he found a "feeling of discontent and unrest," particularly among returning ex-servicemen and among the educated Africans who "saw no way of ever experiencing political power under the existing colonial regime."

On February 28, 1948, rioting occurred in Accra as the result of a clash between the police and demonstrating ex-servicemen who were staging a march on the Governor's Castle, and Nkrumah, although disclaiming responsibility for the disturbances, was arrested and held about eight weeks for investigation.

During this period a rift began to develop between Nkrumah and other leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention. When he realized the UGCC was "doomed to failure because it ignored the masses," Nkrumah broke away in 1949 and formed

the Convention People's Party.

Meanwhile, Britain had appointed a commission, the Coussey Committee, to make recommendations for revising the 1946 constitution. The committee reported late in 1949, but its suggested reforms were not enough to stave off discontent and Nkrumah organized a protest program which threatened to institute "positive action" and was coupled with demands for "self-government now." As a result, editors of several newspapers Nkrumah had founded were arrested for sedition and Nkrumah was fined. Then, in January, 1950, the showdown came. Nkrumah organized a general strike, the Administration declared a state of emergency to preserve order, and in the end Nkrumah was tried and imprisoned.

Events moved rapidly in the ensuing six years. Nkrumah's party won the general elections of February 8, 1951 and he was released from prison to become Leader of Government Business. Constitutional reform came the following year and his position was upgraded to Prime Minister. In 1954 and again last year his party was overwhelmingly returned to power, and on September 16, 1956, the date for independence was set. After eleven hour negotiations last month primarily centering around the status of the old kingdom of Ashanti, a constitution was hammered out and the country readied itself for the assumption of sovereignty.

fire my enthusiasm was *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* published by his wife. Garvey, with his philosophy of "Africa for the Africans" and his "Back to Africa" movement, did much to inspire the Negroes of America in the 1920's. It is somewhat ironical that the white Americans in the South supported Garvey in these movements of his. They did this not because they were interested in the emancipation of the Negro as such, but because they wanted to get rid of the black man in the South and felt that this would solve the Negro problem.

THE LONDON PERIOD

In May, 1945, I left New York for London. I was too stunned for emotions to play much part in the leave-taking and it was not until the boat sailed out from the harbor and I saw the Statue of Liberty with her arms raised as if in a personal farewell to me that a mist covered my eyes.

In spite of this, it was only a matter of weeks before I got myself tangled up with political activities in London.

As in my American days, I associated myself with all political movements, and also with all parties, and I felt that the Communist Party in England was fortunate in having among its leaders personalities such as Mr. Emil Burns, Mr. Palme Dutt and Mr. Harry Pollitt.

Not long after my arrival in 1945, the Labor Party won its victory over the Conservatives in the first post-war general election. The West African Students' Union did what they could to bring about a Labor victory because they felt that, this Party was the most understanding and the most sympathetic towards the colonial problem.

But I regret that our hopes in the Labor Party were completely dashed to pieces; in fact we saw little difference between Labor colonial policy and that of the Tories.

The students who supported the West African National Secretariat organized themselves into student groups and met regularly for discussions at the headquarters. One of these groups, of which I was the chairman, became the vanguard group and we called ourselves "The Circle."

Members of "The Circle" began to train themselves in order to be able to

Nkrumah on Britain . . .

"The strands of history have brought our two countries together. We have provided much material benefit to the British people, and they in turn have taught us many good things. We want to continue to learn from them the best they can give us and we hope that they will find in us qualities worthy of emulation. In our daily lives, we may lack those material comforts regarded as essential by the standards of the modern world, because so much of our wealth is still locked up in our land; but we have the gifts of laughter and joy, a love of music, a lack of malice, an absence of the desire for vengeance for our wrongs—all things of intrinsic worth in a world sick of injustice, revenge, fear and want."

commence revolutionary work in any part of the African continent.

One day I received a letter from Ako Adjei, who was then back in the Gold Coast, asking me if I would return and take on the job of general secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention. He explained that the U.G.C.C. was being faced with the problem of how to reconcile the leadership of the intelligentsia with the broad masses of the people and, knowing of my political activities in both the United States and in England, he had recommended to the Executive Committee that I should be invited to become general secretary. I saw the opportunity that I had been waiting for, the chance to return home and actively help my people by the experience I had gained in party organization abroad.

On the 14th of November, 1947, Kojo Botsio and I left London for Liverpool. At Liverpool I unexpectedly encountered difficulties with the authorities at the docks for, unknown to me, the police had collected quite a file of information about my political activities in London. They were not at all happy about my presence at communist meetings. In the end, after lengthy questioning they grudgingly stamped my passport and I was allowed

to embark. I had the feeling that while they were happy to see the back of me, they were a little worried as to what I was going to be up to in the Gold Coast. I could have told them then, but they would never have understood.

PHILOSOPHY AND TACTICS

Independence for the Gold Coast was my aim. It was a colony and I have always regarded colonialism as the policy by which a foreign power binds territories to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantage. No one need be surprised if this system has led to disturbances and political tension in many territories. There are few people who would not rid themselves of such domination if they could.

I devoted much energy to the study of revolutionaries and their methods. Those who interested me most were Hannibal, Cromwell, Napoleon, Lenin, Mazzini, Gandhi, Mussolini and Hitler. I found much of value to be gleaned and many ideas that were useful to me later in my own campaign against imperialism.

At first I could not understand how Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence could possibly be effective. It seemed to me to be utterly feeble and without hope of success. The solution of the colonial problem, as I saw it at that time, lay in armed rebellion. How is it possible, I asked myself, for a revolution to succeed without arms and ammunition? After months of studying Gandhi's policy and watching the effect it had, I began to see that, when backed by a strong political organization it could be the solution to the colonial problem.

The first objective is political independence, for which I believe the organization itself must take two forms. First there is the period of "positive action"—a combination of non-violent methods with effective and disciplined political action. At this stage open conflict with the existing colonial regime is inevitable and this is a test of strength for the organization. Since it is marked by non-violence and since the forces of might are on the side of colonial power, there is little chance of complete success in this period.

The second stage is one of "tactical action," a sort of contest of wits. From now on the movement must make its

ideology clear and convincing. The ideology of my Party may be formulated as follows: no race, no people, no nation can exist freely and be respected at home and abroad without political freedom.

Once this freedom is gained, a greater task comes into view. All dependent territories are backward in education, in science, in agriculture, and in industry. The economic independence that should follow and maintain political independence demands every effort from the people, a total mobilization of brain and manpower resources. What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve, a once-dependent territory must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive.

Capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation. Hence the need for a socialistic society. But even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind. Without discipline true freedom can not survive.

Self-government was won for the Gold Coast. Its independence will be incomplete, however, unless it is linked up with the liberation of other territories in Africa.

Our example must inspire and strengthen those who are still under foreign domination.

It is only when a people are politically free that other races can give them the respect that is due to them. It is impossible to talk of equality of races in any other terms. No people without a government of their own can expect to be treated on the same level as peoples of independent sovereign states. It is far better to be free to govern or misgovern yourself than to be governed by anybody else.

FORMATION OF C.P.P.

On Sunday, June 12, 1949, before an audience of about sixty thousand people, I announced the formation of the Convention People's Party. We were freely elected to power in 1951. Three years later, and again in 1956, the same confidence was shown by the country.

The formation of the C.P.P. coincided with a political reawakening

among the workers and young people of the country. Ex-servicemen who had taken part in the Second World War returned to the Gold Coast dissatisfied with their position after having been given the chance of comparing their lot with that of other peoples, and they were prepared to take any line which would better conditions. There was a general dissatisfaction with the British colonial policy that had been adopted until that time, especially the policy of indirect rule which so encouraged tribal feudalism. Again, the Russian revolution and its aftermath had left its mark by spreading ideas of workers solidarity, trade union movements, freedom and independence. Events in Asia also added a glow to the political awakening.

... Many parties have emerged in the country. However, because these parties felt unable individually to stand up against the disciplined C.P.P., they amalgamated, and being unable to accept the leadership of one man, the amalgamation has become weaker and weaker. Other colonial territories are afflicted by this disease. A middle-class elite, without the battering-ram of the illiterate masses, can never hope to smash the forces of colonialism. Such a thing can be achieved only by a united people organized in a disciplined political party.

In colonial countries where imperialism has succeeded in dividing the nationalist movement along tribal lines, the anti-imperialist struggle is invari-

bly weakened and the main objectives of the nationalist movement—namely, unity and independence—are sacrificed on the altar of tribalism. An example is Nigeria where, until 1951, there was a united nationalist movement struggling for the unity and independence of Nigeria. The introduction of tribalism shattered the unity of the Nigerian nationalist movement and subsequently divided the country.

The C.P.P. was not merely a mass movement. Mass movements are well and good but they cannot act with purpose unless they are led and guided by a vanguard political party. And when the time comes for a ruling power to accord self-government it will do so more willingly if it can hand over to a properly constituted political party with a majority backing rather than to a revolutionary nationalist movement. Rallying round me all those who genuinely wished for progress I resisted both the opportunist element and the reactionary forces and sought to establish the C.P.P. as the democratic instrument of the people's will and aspirations.

I reminded the people that our land was our own and that we did not want to continue to live in slavery and under exploitation and oppression; that it was only under full self-government that we would be in a position to develop the country so that our people could enjoy the comforts and amenities of modern civilization. I explained to them the necessity for backing our demand for "self-government now" with a program of positive action employing legitimate agitation, newspaper and political educational campaigns and the application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of non-violence. I advised against diplomacy and deception as I pointed out to them that the British, as past masters themselves of diplomatic tactics, would far prefer to have from us frankness and firmness. A policy of collaboration and appeasement would get us nowhere in our struggle for immediate self-government.

The unanimous shouts of approval from that packed Arena in 1949 were all that I needed to give me my final spur. I was at that moment confident that whatever happened, I had the full support of the people.

Nkrumah on women . . .

Unfortunately, the fact that I enjoy women's company has led to a great deal of misunderstanding from those who look at my life from outside. I have never wanted to become too entangled with a woman because I know that I would never be able to devote enough attention to her, that sooner or later whether she were married to me or not, she would begin to wander away from me. I was afraid, too, that if I allowed a woman to play too important a part in my life I would gradually lose sight of my goal.



—Ghana Information Photo

IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT: KWAME NKURMAH

ACCRA CROWD INDI

(Continued from Page 1)

point, an appeal by the Asantehene, traditional leader in the politically restive kingdom of Ashanti, struck a reassuring note. He asked his people to forgive and forget and see that there is peace and harmony in the country. Another note of reassurance was sounded by the Prime Minister on Independence Day, when he declared that "The foreign policy of Ghana will not . . . be dictated by a need to seek assistance from other countries."

In this, Western observers saw a promise that Nkrumah had no intention of turning the Volta project into another Aswan dam East-West political football, and it was hoped that the decision on financing the Volta scheme would be based largely on economic merit.

Another reassurance came in Nkrumah's statement that Ghana would not be "neutralist" in the East-West struggle, taken as a clear sign he would resist imperialism from the Soviet bloc as much as any other. Ghana's aim, he said was "to achieve an African personality in international affairs."

As expected, Nkrumah publicly proclaimed his intention of spearheading the elimination of colonial rule in

Africa, and Ghana's independence was seen by many observers in Accra as influencing an acceleration of self-determination elsewhere on the continent.

One implication was that control of access to most of the world's industrial diamonds, columbite and cobalt, much of its uranium, sisal, cocoa, rubber, and palm oil, half its gold, and a third or fourth of its beryllium, manganese, chrome and copper would be moving increasingly into African hands, a consideration which was not lost on the European, American, Russian, Asian and African representa-

tives who gathered this month in Accra.

Ghana intends to "promote the interest and advancement of all African peoples in their pursuit of freedom and social progress," Nkrumah told his parliament on Independence Day. Aware of the implications this aim carried, he warned his people that "if we fail, showing ourselves disunited, inefficient, or corrupt, then we shall have gravely harmed all those millions in Africa who look to us."

The subject of most immediate speculation was the policy Ghana intends to follow in West Africa. Earl Mazo of the New York Herald Tribune reported that moments after Independence was proclaimed, Nkrumah confided to his associates that he intends to call, as quickly as possible, a "summit" conference of heads of independent African states, as well as African nationalist leaders from European-controlled colonies throughout the vast western shoulder of the continent. Aim of the conference would be to accelerate movements for independence and lay the groundwork for a confederation of West African nations, long an Nkrumah dream. The idea would be to create a regional unity which would contribute to an

THE COUNTRY

Ghana became a sovereign state March 6, 1957, incorporating the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the trust territory of British Togoland. Combined population is roughly 5,000,000. Principle exports are cocoa, gold, timber, diamonds and manganese. Important towns are Accra, the capital, Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, the seaport of Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape Coast, Ho, Koforidua and Tamale.



—Wide World Photo



—Ghana Information Photo

INDEPENDENCE

GHANA FARMER

emergent West Africa's economic and political strength. However, the Tribune report was not immediately confirmed, and Nkrumah since told a press conference that the conference he is planning is for African nations already independent.

One big question mark, aside from Ghana's relations with emerging British territories, is Ghana's relations with France, whose territories surround the new nation on all sides except to seaward.

Nkrumah said this month he still looks forward to a federation of West African states. France, meanwhile, has been making plans to link these contiguous French African territories with continental Europe in a "Eurafrica" common market plan. Whether French and Ghanaian policies would run into conflict was yet to be seen.

Correspondent R. B. Davison, commenting in the journal "West Africa," said the first year of independence may be vital in determining how France and Ghana will react to each other. As one extreme, it would be possible for Ghana to raise the banner of Pan-Africanism and campaign for the ejection of France from West Africa, he wrote. Ghana could

make a determined propaganda assault, using broadcasts from Accra, leaflets, resolutions in the UN and numerous other methods; on the other hand, she might find gentler prodding more propitious, Davison felt. (This month Nkrumah stressed to reporters that Ghana would assist colonial nations in Africa to independence primarily by Ghana's example of good and responsible government.) Even Ghana's independent presence will be unsettling to French West Africans, Davison predicted.

Davison looked for a calculation of risks and advantages of each policy

by Ghana herself, with much depending on the French attitude and the relative strength of the parties. Ghana, he indicated, would have the weapon of Pan-Africanism, France the weapon of closing the borders to more than a million migrant laborers who come to Ghana to work the food and cocoa farms, although France would need to take into account the tax revenue she might lose before undertaking any

INVESTMENT ENCOURAGED

Vice-President Nixon said he "got the very definite impression" from conversations with Prime Minister Nkrumah in Accra that the Ghana Government "would encourage private investment and would give proper safeguards against expropriation." Mr. Nixon also said he was convinced that a good deal of "national" activity would be required by the Ghana economy.



IN WASHINGTON—Ghanaian students Ralph Mensah and Jacob Addo at Independence party (IAAR Photo by Fred Harris).

move to prevent her subjects from seeking temporary work in Ghana.

Also on the economic side, Davison cited the need for a bilateral agreement with France over customs duties and procedures, for if Ghana is to develop a diversified economy, she should look to wider markets in the hinterlands. Davison suggested that customs duties imposed for European benefit should not be allowed to hamper development of a unified West African market.



The direction of Ghana's economic development appears for the present to hinge in large part on decisions awaited in Washington from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which has already sent a study mission to look over the Volta River scheme. Cost of the project is now put around \$835,000,000, which would provide for a dam and power installation, development of bauxite mining facilities in the coastal area, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, construction of an aluminum smelter and township, and completion of port facilities.

A 50 per cent drop in the world cocoa price since February 1955 has provided ample demonstration to Ghana's leaders of the hazards of depending on a single product for two-thirds of the country's export revenue; the need for economic diversification is viewed as a major consideration for Nkrumah as he maps out his immediate policies for governing the country.

Although American plans for aiding the new state have not yet been spelled out, the United States has manifested a major interest in Ghana's independence and ties between the two countries were quickly established. Vice-President Nixon personally relayed President Eisenhower's expression of "special pleasure" at witnessing Ghana's assumption of "its sovereign place in the free world."

The U. S. House and Senate passed resolutions greeting the new state, and the American Consulate General in Accra was given Embassy status.

The Voice of America carried a special program featuring messages

from American leaders and a choral anthem "Salute to Ghana" especially commissioned by the Voice and written by American soprano Madame Lillian Evanti. The United States Information Service handled overseas distribution of a special 32 page Ghana supplement put out by the Pittsburgh Courier.

The Courier's editorial salute cited the ancestral ties common to Ghanaians and most American Negroes.

Meanwhile, well-wishers packed Independence Day parties in New York, Washington and elsewhere in the country as various African embassies as well as Gold Coast student organizations, the Institute of African-American Relations, the American Committee on Africa and other private groups provided assistance in events marking the occasion.

The American Committee produced a 32 page special issue of its publication "Africa Today" saluting the new nation.

In Washington, Ghanaian representatives prepared to open a Chancery and Embassy, at 2139 R Street, N.W., and 2929 Benton Place, N. W., respectively, by the end of March.

In the UN, Ghana was admitted to membership with unprecedented speed as the Security Council acted unanimously March 7 and the General Assembly March 8 to welcome the African state. As acting delegate Major Seth Kobla Anthony took his seat after a full minute of applause, Comdr. Allan Noble of Britain called the event a "proud day" for the Commonwealth and a demonstration of the "flexible and democratic process" by which the British family of nations developed. America's Henry Cabot Lodge praised Britain's wise statesmanship, while Russia's Arkady A. Sobolev told the Assembly that Ghana's admission should be regarded as a symbol of the "disintegration of the obsolete colonial system."

Thus the world took note of Ghana and its leader Kwame Nkrumah, the charismatic African nationalist who tells in his autobiography how, only six years ago, he lay in a cell in James Fort prison in Accra, scribbling political plans on pieces of toilet paper. His notes were smuggled to his close

—Ghana Information Photo

CONSTRUCTION ON NEW VOLTA BRIDGE AT ADOMI

associate K. A. Gbedemah outside the prison so the two men could communicate regarding preparations for the general elections of 1951, elections which were to establish Nkrumah as African leader of government in the Gold Coast and pave the way for the events of this month.

Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, the Governor who both imprisoned Nkrumah and released him, and who subsequently worked hand in hand with him in preparing the country for independence, was sworn in as Governor-General in the first event solemnizing the change from colony to ninth member of the Commonwealth.

"In so far as the birth of Ghana today is a natural outcome of British colonialism," Sir Charles said, "I am proud to be a British Colonialist."

—R. C. Keith



RIGHT—Governor-General and Prime Minister press firing buttons to set off first blast in breakwater construction at Tema Harbor.

BELOW—Ghanaians visit traveling display showing Volta River development plans (Ghana Information Photos).



news briefs

CORRESPONDENT Winifred Armstrong talked to National Liberation Movement leaders Joe Appiah, R.R. Amponsah and J.B. Danquah in Accra this month, reports NLM proud of eleventh hour constitutional guarantees it secured but still suspicious of Nkrumah's Convention People's Party and fearful of "dictatorship" from Accra. NLM is the leading opposition group to CPP, has backing of many intellectuals and chiefs. Present NLM watchword is "vigilance" in ironing out constitutional details. After constitution is settled and CPP has shown "good faith," NLM will turn full attention to development programs. A constitutional committee will be set up within three months to spell out extent of legislative, executive and financial powers to be exercised by regional assemblies...Random notes: March 6 celebrations were less animated than one would expect; people went to bed after midnight. One reason: they had been celebrating for months, after elections, after announcement of independence and off and on since. Also, there was realization the millenium had not arrived...Ghana's first foreign posts: London, Washington, Paris, probably New Delhi, Monrovia, Lagos, then South Africa, East Africa. No hurry about Moscow. Nkrumah may soon visit U.S., Canada, India.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE accused Egypt last month of fomenting subversion in Ethiopia, according to Homer Bigart of the New York Times. Bigart said Ethiopian officials accuse President Nassar's Government of trying to stir up

NIXON

(Continued from Page 3)

Palmer II, new deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and at a late hour he asked Palmer to join the entourage.

Vice-Presidential support of Africa programs could well give them higher priorities in the National Security Council. On Capitol Hill, his influence could stimulate increasing appropriations for the new nations of Africa. Equally important could be the effect of Mr. Nixon's tour in spotlighting Africa before the American public.

Africa's reception to Mr. Nixon for the most part found official observers highly pleased. By common acclaim—and British, French and African press coverage attests this—it would be hard to find the Vice President's equal as greeter, public figure, and purveyor of good will. His response to crowds and celebration, his untiring handshaking and willingness to meet people at all levels were a revelation to the African public-at-large. And all this in spite of a virus infection which plagued him throughout much of the trip.

Making almost as big a dent in African enthusiasms as her husband, "Pat" Nixon, another hard campaigner,

rarely followed the Vice-President. Instead, she toured schools and hospitals and won the admiration of women's groups.

The four remaining delegates to the Ghana Independence event were: Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton (R.-Ohio), Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D.-Mich.), Walter A. Gordon, governor of the Virgin Islands, and Mason Sears, American representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

"... Fundamentally, the interests of the United States are of an economic and strategic as well as humanitarian order. It is for us to convince the Africans that their aspirations will be best served by their free association with the rest of the free world . . . Skepticism of our motives cannot be dispelled by any professed altruism on our part. It will only disappear when these people understand that their national aspirations and those of the United States coincide; and that it is to our advantage that the people of underdeveloped territories remain free . . ."

—Sen. Theodore Francis Green

Who's Doing What

RICHARD E. VAN DER ROSS, 36 year old South African author and educator, is spending four months in the United States, accompanied by his wife, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Mr. van der Ross is principal of Battswood Training College in Cape Town's suburb of Wynberg and founder of the South African Colored People's Organization. He spoke in Washington last month in the fifth program of the 1956-57 Africa Lecture Series, sponsored by the Institute of African-American Relations and the School of Advanced International Studies.

SIR WILLIAM MURPHY, 69-year-old Rhodesian tobacco farmer and former Governor of the Bahamas, was sworn in as Acting Governor-General of the Central African Federation and Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia following the death in January of the Governor-General, Lord Llewellyn.

MOGOLAJI ODUNEWU, ranking African in Nigeria's Federal Information Service, is in the United States on a three-month "Leader Grant" tour arranged by the State Department. He will study Federal, State and private techniques for disseminating information, and will also visit the information offices of other governments in New York, where Nigeria is expected to open an information office of its own in the near future.

Christian Ethiopia's Moslem minority, in a long range attempt to detach Moslem areas from the country and unify them in a "Greater Somalia" subservient to Egypt.

SOME INFORMED Nigerians look for the post of Prime Minister to be created as the result of the Constitutional Conference scheduled for May. One piece of speculation is that the post may go to a Northerner, and Federal Minister of Transport Tafawa Balewa is among those mentioned. Meanwhile, the London Times reports that by 1959, full independence for Nigeria "will be very near a reality."

AFRICANS voted in Kenya this month for the first time, in a delayed phase of the 1956 general elections, and correspondents report that the outcome signals intensified struggle between Europeans and Africans over who should govern the country. Moderates were generally rejected in favor of African nationalists advocating majority rule as 8 Africans were seated on the 54 member Legislative Council. Labor leader Tom Mboya was among the winners. Influential African moderate Eliud W. Mathu lost by 10,000 votes.

A RESOLUTION calling for creation of the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs was introduced in the U.S. Senate March 12 by Sen. Green (R.I.)

AUTHOR John Gunther and Dean James A. Pike of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, head a "South Africa Defense Fund" organized by the American Committee on Africa in New York. The fund will aid defendants in South Africa's mass "treason" examinations now taking place in Johannesburg. Sponsors of the American fund include Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr and Harry Emerson Fosdick. So far, more than \$4,000 has been collected, administrators report. Donations are being received 4 W. 40th St., N.Y.C. The American drive is coordinated with a fund campaign in the Union headed by writer Alan Paton and the Bishop of Johannesburg.

A STUDY COMMISSION this month recommended a new "fractional" voting system for Southern Rhodesia designed to give increased representation to Africans. Europeans and Africans would register on the same role, but the total votes of persons without certain income or education qualifications would not be counted as more than half of the total cast by persons with the qualifications. The plan will go before the Southern Rhodesia House next month and sharp controversy is expected.

U. S. DELEGATES retreated from the post-Suez posture of "anti-colonialism" last month on a number of Africa resolutions in the UN General Assembly. Forsaking the "out" of abstention, the U.S. stood with the colonial powers as they were heavily outvoted by the Soviet and Afro-Asian blocs. On Feb. 26 the U.S. opposed resolutions which in effect (1) urged France and Britain to give passports to UN petitioners from the Cameroons, (2) asked administering countries to a) estimate time required for trust territories to be given self-government and b) insure that self-government comes at an "early date," (3) asked France to restore political "normalcy" in the Cameroons and (4) asked Britain to state plans for developing democratic self-government in Tanganyika. All resolutions were carried about 45-15. UN observers reported most resolutions had beneath-the-surface complications, and in some cases the texts were said to offer advantages to the Soviets. The U.S. opposition was said to stem in part from reluctance to push Europe any further at this time; on some resolutions, competitive maneuvering between the U.S. and Indian delegations was also reported to have influenced the wording of the texts and subsequent voting.

PREMIER Nnamdi Azikiwe of Eastern Nigeria and his National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) party were returned to office in the Eastern Region House of Assembly March 15 in special elections stemming from an investigation of the Premier's finances. However, incomplete returns indicated the opposition had made substantial gains.

France Moves to Create 'Eurafrica' Common Market; Would Blunt Impact of Communism, 'Exalted Nationalism'

By a Special Writer

France made another major move last month in what was looked on as part of her bid to build new and more secure relationships with her emergent territories areas in Africa. In turn for her participation in a European common market, France persuaded the other continental powers to help her in colonial economic development.

As pictured by its promoters including French Premier Guy Moller, the plan would serve to reduce tensions in these areas and presumably induce them to proceed from control by Europe to free association with Europe without going through the strains of strident nationalism.

The plan has provoked considerable controversy.

France injected it into the common market negotiations in mid-February and the idea "landed like a stick of dynamite," according to Christian Science Monitor Correspondent Volney Hurd. Reaction, he said, was one of annoyance and irritation at what some diplomats looked on as "pressure" to force France's partners to finance her colonial developments as the price for getting France into the common market.

But a week of negotiations brought the other powers around to a modified version of the French plan and on February 20 "Eurafrica" was born, creating a common market which would integrate not only continental Europe but French, Belgian and Italian territories in Africa, as well as the Dutch territories of New Guinea in the Pacific and Surinam in South America.

If their respective parliaments approve the agreement, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg and Germany will contribute money for investment in the colonies at a rate of about \$100,000,000 a year over a five year trial period. In return, the French will gradually lower tariffs in the African territories so that continental Europe can engage increasingly in trade with the African market which would be opening up.

Funds are to be contributed and spent roughly as follows:

Contributions:

France	\$200,000,000
Italy	40,000,000
Belgium	70,000,000
Holland	70,000,000
Luxembourg	1,250,000
Germany	200,000,000

Allotments to European Members for Their Overseas Territories:

France: \$510,000,000 (for dependent territories in Africa plus, possibly, Tunisia and Morocco)

Italy: \$5,000,000 (for the trust territory of Somalia)

Belgium: \$30,000,000 (for the Congo & Ruanda-Urundi)

Netherlands: \$35,000,000 (for

SEN. GREEN SEES NEED FOR U. S. AID IN DEPENDENT AFRICA

Africa has been allocated less than \$25,000,000, or 1.6 per cent of American foreign aid appropriated for fiscal 1957, Senator Theodore Francis Green (D-R.I.) wrote last month in his report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his recent trip through the continent.

U. S. policies have failed to keep pace with developments in Africa or anticipate their sweep, Sen. Green asserted in the report.

Sen. Green cautioned that to pay excessive homage to the concept of self-determination may bring in its wake a country's future bondage and delivery of an entire people to some alien domination, but he noted that the drive toward political independence in Africa was gaining momentum at an unparalleled rate.

Despite the obstacles to effective programing in dependent African territories, it will not do to defer U. S. economic aid until some uncertain date when independence in these areas is attained, he added.

The cost is so modest that to withhold American assistance "would be tantamount to a dereliction of national duty," he said.

One major handicap, he added, was the difficulty of finding trained American technical personnel to carry out programs once they are agreed on.

Dutch New Guinea and, possibly Surinam)

Germany, thus, would be contributing as much as France and getting nothing directly in return, aside from the trade opportunities. The Germans assert that the funds will be spent carefully and none would be used for "colonial purposes."

The London Times called the plan a "startling departure in colonial policy," but viewed it with reservations. One reason: While tariffs would be lowered to put the French territories on a common market basis with continental Europe, the Times said, they would be raised against colonial products coming into the common market from outside. In effect, said the Times, this means tariffs would be raised against the products of British and Portuguese colonial territories.

The Times also felt Germany was running a "clear danger of becoming enmeshed in French colonial policies." The Times did feel the plan had merit, "insofar as it is a device simply to promote investment by industrialized countries in backward areas."

One version of how French economic policy has been operating in Africa was given last December by the French Equatorial Africa correspondent of L'Avenir (Belgian Congo), who complained in an editorial that France "imposes its products on us at prohibitive prices; but it does not, on the other hand, compensate for these high prices by providing us with increased investments in French Equatorial Africa. Furthermore, the commercial quality of French products does not equal that of products delivered by foreign countries. It is true, of course, that France buys most of French Equatorial Africa's production, and that France subsidizes most of it. However, the policy of price support does not essentially favor the producer in French Equatorial Africa; it is principally the intermediary who benefits from this operation.

"The economic objectives which must be achieved in French Equatorial Africa are: to raise the level of living of the population, to stimulate the pro-

duction and increase the country's equipment. However, they will never be attained so long as (the territory) is obliged to live in a closed circuit while the profits are invested elsewhere."

Presumably the new Eurafrica would serve to ameliorate some of these complaints, and residents of the overseas territories could be expected to examine the plan closely.

Pondering the effectiveness of the proposed \$581,000,000 five-year expenditure, Le Monde noted that the Algerian drama alone swallows up about 20 times what the European contributors would put into the common pool in an average year.

Addressing the Foreign Policy Association in New York this month, Premier Mollet urged that the Eurafrica plan would help enable the African people to achieve the "real" independence that "results from voluntary participation in a community able to keep pace with the world."

"People must open their eyes to the danger of an exalted nationalism among the once colonial peoples," he warned. "Fanaticism, xenophobia, an impoverished society, and dictatorship have often been the price of supposedly regained national sovereignty."

He said the Eurafrican program would help Europe as well as Africa, because Europe, if cut off from Africa, would be "isolated at the extreme tip of a vast continent dominated by communism."

"World communism supports the most fanatical nationalist movements," Premier Mollet asserted, and he called on the democracies to offer more than a futile attempt to outbid the Communists in support for "inflamed nationalism." He said the solution should be sought, rather, in the realm of international cooperation.

EAST AFRICAN "WONDERS IN WOOD", a collection of authentic wood sculptures imported from Kenya, will be exhibited at the U. S. World Trade Fair at New York City's Coliseum, April 14-27. The display is being assembled and managed by Rhonda H. Robins, director of International Arts and Crafts of Washington, suppliers of art to galleries, museums and private collectors.

MAIL BAG

EDITOR'S NOTE: Africa Special Report assumes no responsibility for publication of letters received and reserves the privilege of occasionally shortening letters to accord with space limitations when circumstances merit. No unsigned letters can be considered for publication, although the writer's identity may be withheld on request. Brevity is encouraged.

DR. AZIKIWE

To the Editor,

I read with interest your write-up and other published reports about Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and the African Continental Bank. Dr. Azikiwe was simply trying to establish more local control in Nigerian economic matters. The facts of the situation indicate strongly that the resulting controversy was an attempt to protect a British backing monopoly and that it was also used as an excuse to delay the Constitutional talks leading to Nigerian self-government.

I think it would be unfortunate for your Bulletin to become merely the U. S. edition of the imperialist press.

Spectator
New York

To the Editor,

... The body of the report reflects that the transferral of funds to the African Continental Bank to which Dr. Azikiwe's own financial enterprises are closely tied, came at a time when his financial enterprises were in serious financial danger. It is this timing which gives rise to multiple interpretations of the factors underlying the Eastern Nigeria controversy. If nothing else, the findings show Dr. Azikiwe made the mistake of allowing himself to be placed in an unfortunately comprising position...

A reader
Chicago

NILE PLAN

To the Editor,

Earl Voss' article on the Nile River Development Project in the January 28th issue was extraordinarily interesting and informative. Many thanks for providing stimulating and provocative reading. The imaginative and constructive ideas set forth merit an audience by anyone involved in shaping economic and political policy towards this area.

Elinor Dubin
New York

Recent Publications

THE ANATOMY OF SOUTH AFRICAN MISERY, Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet, President of the University of Rochester, voices a plea for clear thinking in a logical and brilliant analysis of the antagonisms between black and white and the national tensions between Afrikaner and Briton which led to the government policy of apartheid (Oxford University Press, 88 p., \$1.75).

THE OPEN UNIVERSITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA are two, the University of Cape Town and the University of Witwatersrand. They are "open" because they admit non-white as well as white students and they are concerned because of government pronouncements that it intends to legislate non-white students out of the universities as proposed separate universities for non-white become available. In a January, 1957, conference representatives of the two universities met, deliberated and issued a forthright and thoughtful statement on the value of the open university in South Africa under the above title. Of interest to anyone concerned with the role of the university in society, the 47 page book may be obtained from Witwatersrand University Press, Milner Park, Johannesburg, 5s.

1957 EDITIONS of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Company's Yearbook & Guide to East Africa and Yearbook & Guide to Southern Africa will be a boon to the businessman, traveler and student. Both are good reference guides to the history, government, geography, industry, manufacturing, railroads, imports and population of each area. Extensive travel sections are supplemented with rail and road maps. Edited by A. Gordon Brown, they are available from the H. W. Wilson Co., 950-972 University Ave., New York City 52, \$3.00 each.

SOUTHERN AFRICA, TODAY AND YESTERDAY, another many-faceted book invaluable to travel collections, is a revised edition of Arthur W. Wells' "South Africa: A Planned Tour" (Dutton, 499 p., \$7.50).

THE UNITED NATIONS AND DEPENDENT PEOPLES is an analysis of the problems of colonialism and an evaluation of how they have been and can be dealt with. Published recently by the Brookings Institution, an independent organization engaged in research and education in the social sciences, the study consists of chapters edited by Emil J. Sady which will be included in a seven volume reappraisal of the United Nations system. Obtainable from the Brookings Institution, 722 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., \$1.50.

THE RAPIDS, Basil Davidson's first novel, airs the opposing views of two generations, traditionalist and liberal, in this characterization of an Englishman in a West African colony who learns something from his half-caste daughter (Houghton Mifflin, 288 p., \$3.50).

CONFERENCES ON AFRICA

THE SUEZ, Mau Mau, colonialism, Apartheid, self-government and other discussion-laden questions will come under scrutiny in a month-long summer program at the University of Wyoming. The June 10-July 12 program, 11th session of the Institute of International Affairs, will be led by top African specialists including William O. Brown, Boston University; Manfred Halpern, State Department; Vernon McKay, School of Advanced International Studies; and Pius Okigbo, Nigerian scholar. Credit courses and limited scholarships are available; for further information write Dr. Gale W. McGee, Chairman, Institute of International Affairs, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.

SOME 125 junior and senior high school students and their advisors will participate in a day-long conference on "Tropical Africa and the Future" at Lafayette College, Eatonsville, Pennsylvania, March 30.

AFRICAN problems and their relationship to America were examined at a March 15 meeting of the Service Bureau for Woman's Organizations in Hartford, Connecticut.

AFRICA IN THE MODERN WORLD was again spotlighted in panel and roundtable discussions sponsored by the International Relations Conference of Connecticut at Connecticut College, New London, March 8-9. Contributing to the program were African specialists Gwendolen M. Carter, Professor of Government, Smith College; L. Gray Cowan of the School of International Studies, Columbia University; and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. of the African Institute, Boston University.

Articles and reports issued in AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT are not selected to accord with an editorial policy and do not necessarily represent the views of its membership. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and for opinions expressed in the letters and reports rests solely with individual correspondents and staff writers.

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Executive Staff: John B. George, Director; E. Jefferson Murphy, Programs; Robert C. Keith, Publications.

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business notes

- **TWO NEW RAILROADS** are under study in Africa. One would run from Lake Chad to Bangui in French Equatorial Africa and the other would connect Northern Rhodesia with the port of Mossamedes in Angola.
- **THE AFRICAN HORIZON** Insurance Company Ltd., said to be South Africa's first firm specializing in insurance for Africans, went into business this year in Capetown. Directors include Professor Z.K. Matthews, Senator Leslie Rubin and other prominent Africans and European liberals.
- **LEOPOLDVILLE** will be headquarters for Dwight D. Bishop, U.S. agricultural officer for the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroons, Angola and Ruanda-Urundi.
- **SUDAN AIRWAYS** made \$196,000 in 1956, operating at a profit for the first time in its 6-year history. It plans to add two DC-3s this year to its present nine ship fleet. It is wholly owned by the Sudanese Government but run as a private company.
- **NIGERIA HAS** announced opening of a new \$154,000 cotton ginnery at Kuru which is expected to produce 12,000 bales of cotton during each four-month season. It is estimated this will save almost \$10.00 a ton on transportation costs.
- **ENTRANCE CHANNEL** to the port of Dakar, French West Africa, is to be deepened to permit entry of supertankers and large ore carriers. Dredging equipment will cost some \$30 million.
- **RHODESIA HAS** relaxed its import controls on butter from dollar areas during first half 1957. This permits entry of U.S. and Canadian butter for the first time in two years.
- **FRENCH WEST AFRICA** expects an all-time peanut crop of about 1,025,000 short tons unshelled nuts for export and oil production, an increase of one-fifth over the large 1955-56 crop.
- **MISSISSIPPI VALLEY** - West Africa two-way trade on the Delaware Steamship Lines approximated 200,000 tons last year, an increase of 60,000 tons over 1955.
- **AFRICA'S LEAF** tobacco harvest for first half 1957 is estimated at 282 million pounds, down from 305 million for the same period in 1956. Increases in Madagascar, Mozambique and Union of South Africa are offset by Rhodesia and Nyasaland's 11 per cent drop to only 185 million pounds.

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